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**PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MEETINGS OF THE CHAMBER OF
PRINCES (NARENDRA MANDAL)**

Held at New Delhi on the 17th and 18th January 1946

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST DAY

17th January 1946

The Chamber assembled at the Princes' Chamber, Council House at 11 A.M., on Thursday, the 17th January 1946. His Excellency the Crown Representative presided.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present:—

Assam

His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur

Central India States

| | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| His Highness the Nawab of Baoni. | His Highness the Raja of Jhabua. |
| His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal. | The Rao of Jigni. |
| His Highness the Maharaja of Datia. | The Raja of Khilchipur. |
| His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Br.). | The Raja of Maihar. |
| His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Br.). | The Raja of Nagod. |
| | His Highness the Raja of Samthar. |

Deccan States

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| The Raja of Jamkhadi. | The Raja of Phaltan. |
| The Raja of Miraj (Senior). | His Highness the Raja of Sangli. |

Eastern States

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| The Raja of Bamra. | The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj. |
| The Raja of Daspalla. | The Maharaja of Patna. |
| The Raja of Dhenkanal. | The Raja of Seraikela. |
| The Raja of Keonjhar. | The Maharaja of Sonepur. |
| The Raja of Khairagarh. | The Raja of Talchar. |
| The Raja of Korea. | |

Punjab States

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| The Raja of Baghat. | His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala. |
| His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur. | His Highness the Raja of Mandi. |
| His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur. | His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha. |
| His Highness the Raja of Chamba. | His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. |
| His Highness the Raja of Faridkot. | His Highness the Maharaja of Tehri. |
| The Raja of Kalsia. | Garhwal. |

Rajputana States

| | |
|--|--|
| His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar. | His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar. |
| His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. | |
| His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi. | His Highness the Maharao of Kotah. |
| His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur. | The Raja of Shahpura. |
| His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur. | |

Western India States

| | |
|---|---|
| His Highness the Nawab of Cambay. | His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar. |
| His Highness the Maharaja Raj Saheb of Dhrangadhra. | His Highness the Maharaja Rana of Porbandar. |
| The Raja of Jawhar. | His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla. |
| The Chief of Muli. | |

ORDER-PAPER

CHAMBER OF PRINCES (NARENDRA MANDAL)

Thursday, the 17th January 1946

1. His Excellency the Crown Representative will on arrival greet the Members and Representative Members who will be presented individually by His Highness the Chancellor.

2. His Excellency the Crown Representative will take his seat in the Chamber.

3. His Excellency the Crown Representative will deliver an address.

List of Business

1. The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:—

“The Chamber of Princes offers a hearty welcome to His Excellency Field-Marshal the Right Honourable Viscount Wavell of Cyrenaica and Winchester on the assumption of the offices of His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States, and the Governor-General of India, and tenders its sincerest good wishes to His Excellency.”

Seconder.—His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur.

2. The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:—

“The Chamber of Princes records its heartfelt sorrow at the demise of Their late Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Maharaja of Dewas Junior, the Maharaja of Gondal and of the late Nawab of Balasinor, the Raja of Talcher, and the Raja of Sarangarh; together with its sense of loss thereby sustained by the entire Order of Princes and offers its sincere sympathies and condolences to the bereaved families.”

Seconder.—His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

3. The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:—

“The Chamber of Princes offers its heartiest congratulations to Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Cochin, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Maharaja of Dewas Junior, the Maharaja of Gondal, and to the Nawab of Balasinor and the Raja of Talcher on their accession to the Gaddi, and to His Highness the Raja of Chamba, the Raja of Gangpur and the Raja of Kanker on their investiture with ruling powers and wishes them a long and prosperous life.”

Seconder.—His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior) will reply.

4. The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:—

“The Chamber of Princes records its grateful appreciation of the valuable services rendered by His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, at the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and the Dominion Premiers' Conference, and tenders its warm congratulations to him.”

Seconder.—His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

5 The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:—

“The Chamber of Princes recommends that as a special measure the voting papers for the election of the Pro-Chancellor be opened and the result of the election declared for formal ratification at a meeting of the Standing Committee of Princes instead of at the Chamber Session as prescribed in Appendix “A” to the First Regulations of the Constitution of the Chamber.”

Secunder:—The Raja of Maihar.

Thursday, the 17th January 1946

(AFTERNOON)

1. The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:—

“The Chamber of Princes expresses profound gratification at the attainment of final and decisive victory in the struggle against aggression and for the vindication of the principles of justice and sanctity of covenants. It records grateful admiration of the heroic deeds of the brave units of the Indian Army with their comrades of the Imperial and allied Forces.

The Chamber of Princes requests His Excellency the Crown Representative to convey the sincerest congratulations of the Princes of India on this occasion to His Imperial Majesty and his Government and to the Heads of the other Allied Nations.”

Secunder:—His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

Supporter:—His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla.

2. The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:—

“The Chamber of Princes takes this opportunity of paying its warm tribute to the gallant Indian States Forces on their glorious achievements in every theatre of the World War.”

Secunder:—His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi.

Supporters:—His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior).

His Highness the Raja of Mandi.

3. The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:—

“The Chamber of Princes resolves to place on record its wholehearted support of the United Nations Organisation for the establishment of ‘conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of International Law can be maintained’ for the safeguarding of ‘International peace and security’ and for ‘the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples’. The Chamber of Princes trusts that the United Nations Organisation will be enabled to win increasing confidence by the impartial, timely and courageous discharge of its functions in furtherance of the noble purposes and principles embodied in the Charter.”

Secunder:—His Highness the Raja of Mandi.

Friday, the 18th January 1946

1. The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.—

“The Chamber of Princes desires to reiterate that the Indian States fully share the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature and will make every possible contribution towards the settlement of the Indian Constitutional problem.”

Secunder:—His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

Supporters:—His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur.

The Raja of Korea.

His Highness the Raja of Mandi.

2. Statement by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal reviewing the work performed by the Chamber during the past year.

3. Vote of thanks to His Highness the Chancellor.

Mover:—His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

Secunder:—His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

Supporter:—His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur.

4. Reply of the Members and Representative Members of the Chamber of Princes to His Excellency the Crown Representative's address.

5. His Excellency the Crown Representative will conclude the proceedings.

His Excellency the Crown Representative's Speech at the Opening of the 1946 Session of Chamber of Princes, on 17th January 1946

YOUR HIGHNESSES:—

I take particular pleasure in welcoming Your Highnesses to this twentieth session of the Chamber of Princes, since this is the first occasion on which I have the honour to preside over your deliberations.

Since Your Highnesses last met, there have been changes in the offices of Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber. It is now nearly two years since His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal was elected Chancellor and during that period he has never rested from his activities on behalf of the States. Your Highnesses have recognised this by indicating your desire that His Highness should continue in office for a second term and I am confident that events will prove the wisdom of your action. I must also pay tribute to the great services rendered to this Chamber and to the country by His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, whose period of office as Pro-Chancellor will shortly terminate and who has felt unable to agree to continue in office for a further period. For more than eight years—throughout the whole length of the war—His Highness has held continuously the office of Chancellor or Pro-Chancellor. I am sure that we are all indeed grateful to him for his long term of work on behalf of the States and of India.

Death has occasioned several changes in Your Highnesses' Chamber since it last met, and we have to mourn the loss of Their late Highnesses the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior), the Maharaja of Gondal, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Nawab of Balasinor, the Maharao Raja of Bundi and the Raja of Talcher and the Raja of Sarangarh. In addition to these members of the Chamber, a member of its representative electorate—the Rana of Kumharsain—has also died.

The successions of several members of the Chamber have been recognised since the last session—those of Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Cochin, the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior), the Maharaja of Gondal, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Nawab of Balasinor and the Maharao Raja of Bundi, while the Raja of Kanker, the Raja of Gangpur and the Raja of Chamba have been invested with ruling powers during the period. Your Highnesses will, I know, join with me in welcoming these Rulers to the Chamber.

There has been no more eventful period in history than the two years which have passed since last this Chamber met. At that time the war was still being waged both in the east and the west with unparalleled fury. In the east, although the Allied Armies and Navies were beginning to make headway against the Japanese, Japanese forces were in possession of Burma and even of part of Indian territory; in Italy a determined opposition was being put up by the German Armies and very heavy fighting was in progress; the landings of Allied troops in France had yet to take place and the whole country was still in the occupation of the enemy. Yet within two years the enemies' armies were routed, their navies surrendered or sunk, their air fleets destroyed, and their countries occupied by Allied forces. The most powerful factors in these splendid achievements have been the steadfastness of the Allied nations and the prowess of their fighting forces. In that steadfastness and prowess the Indian States have a proud share. Throughout those difficult years when we were exposed, unprepared, to the first furious onslaught of the enemy, and during the dark days of 1942, when it seemed that India herself might be invaded and the faith of some began to fail and grow dim, the States without exception kept their loyalty to the causes for which we fought—

“unmoved, unshaken,
unseduced, unterrified”,

a circumstance of which Your Highnesses and your peoples have every reason to be proud. The record of the Indian States Forces and the many State subjects who joined the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Army and the Indian Air Force was equally worthy of admiration. I wish that I could speak in detail of the part played by individual units of the States Forces in the various theatres of war; but the time at my disposal makes this impossible, and I can only say that in the fighting in Africa, in Italy, in the Mediterranean and on the eastern frontier of India they distinguished themselves by their valour and endurance. In the Indian Army five V.Cs. were won by subjects of Indian States. Your Highnesses yourselves set a worthy example to your peoples. Three of your number—His Highness of Bundi, His Highness of Dewas (Senior) and His Highness of Cooch Behar—took part in active operations against the enemy, and I congratulate His Highness of Bundi on being awarded the Military Cross for gallantry. Other Rulers paid visits to the troops at the front, who received much encouragement from their presence amongst them. One State, Manipur, was actually invaded and heavy fighting took place within its boundaries. During that trying ordeal the people of the State, under His Highness the Maharaja, who remained in his capital even when it was seriously threatened by the enemy, behaved with exemplary steadfastness. The States were also associated with the planning and organisation of the war: since the Chamber last met His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir was one of India's two representatives in the War Cabinet at an important period; and during an earlier period of the war His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib occupied a similar position. Needless to say, both filled these posts with distinction, and with advantage to India.

The part played by the States during the war not only does them great credit but should also be an inspiration to meet the many and great difficulties with which we shall have to contend in the early years of peace. Most important of the problems with which India is faced is her future constitution, on the satisfactory solution of which will depend the happiness and prosperity of her people for many future years. With this problem the States are no less concerned than is British India.

Your Highnesses, this leads me to a subject to which I know well you all attach the greatest importance—that of your relationship with the Crown and the rights guaranteed by your treaties and engagements. I can assure you that there is no intention on our part to initiate any change in this relationship or these rights without your consent. I am confident that Your Highnesses will through your accredited representatives take your full share in the preliminary discussions, which were announced in my broadcast of the 19th September, as well as in the intended constitution-making body; and that your consent to any changes which emerge as a result of these negotiations will not unreasonably be withheld. I am also confident that in your approach to these problems you will have no intention or desire to stand in the way of the growth of India to its full stature or to hinder the political, economic or social progress and advancement of your subjects. It will rather be natural and in accordance with your traditions that you should become leaders in peace, as you have formerly been in war.

The record of some States in the art of civil government is already most distinguished. In no part of India is administration more efficient, are industries better organised and the welfare of the people better secured than in some of the States. That such a claim cannot be made on behalf of all States, Your Highnesses will doubtless not contest: that it cannot be made on behalf of the small States is largely due to the fact that their resources are insufficient to meet the cost of a modern administration. Although inadequate finance is a misfortune for which, in itself, the Darbars concerned are not responsible, it is, I suggest, incumbent upon them so to modify the constitutional position of their States as to ensure the welfare of their subjects for the future. To achieve this three conditions are necessary. Every State should possess political stability, adequate financial resources and effective association of the people with the administration. If a State cannot fulfil these conditions, I strongly urge that it should arrange to do so either by joining a larger unit or by combining with other small States to form a political entity of a sufficient size. I am convinced that only by this means will the small States be able to keep abreast of progress in other parts of India, and I therefore trust that they will not withhold their consent to such modifications of their relations with the Crown as present circumstances and future requirements demand, with any expectation that, by so doing, they may be able to perpetuate conditions which are out of date.

Although these suggestions primarily concern the small States, they are, I believe, of importance to all Your Highnesses, who must naturally be concerned to assist the smaller States to solve their particular problems with success.

Though constitutional problems are the most important with which India is at present confronted, there are others which demand the most careful consideration. Some of these—such as the control of prices and of the distribution of consumer goods—have been created by war conditions and will pass away with those conditions: others—such as the resettlement of demobilised soldiers, sailors and airmen and the planning of the country's food supply—though occasioned by the war will continue to exercise a considerable influence in the future: others again, such as the reconstruction of industry and the development of electric power and of the means of transport, are of permanent importance. I should like to say a few words about the financial background against which these problems must be viewed.

The war involved a vast expenditure of rupee currency in India and a great reduction in the supply of goods available for civil consumption. To check the inflationary effect of these conditions it was necessary to take various measures in which, as Your Highnesses know, the States were asked to co-operate. Some of these measures, such as high taxation and an intensified savings campaign, were designed to secure a reduction in purchasing power: the purpose of others was to increase the quantity of goods for sale. Control over capital issues and forward contracting was introduced as a check on speculation; and, finally, the distribution of essential commodities was made as equitable as possible by price and similar controls. With the end of the war the situation has somewhat

changed, for, though there is still the possible danger of inflation, a period of temporary deflation may be caused by the rapid release of service personnel and war workers. To guard against these conflicting dangers action is being taken in British India, on the one hand, to embark on an urgent programme of public works, particularly those which give employment to large numbers and add to the national wealth; and, on the other, to maintain a relatively high level of taxation and to encourage public saving. I commend to Your Highnesses the adoption of similar measures in the States.

Your Highnesses, I do not think it necessary, that I should deal at any length with all the economic problems which face India at the moment. They are well-known to Your Highnesses, and I have spoken on them elsewhere. The main point which I wish to make is this: that it is my earnest aim and will be my constant endeavour that the interests of the States should receive the same attention and sympathy from the Government of India in the process of development as the Provinces of British India. I am also sure that the States will afford that same measure of cordial co-operation in controls and in planning as they have given in the past.

Your Highnesses are aware that I have discussed with your representatives on more than one occasion the best means of improving consultation between the Government of India and the States on matters of common economic interest, and of seeing that the interests of the States are not overlooked. I hope that we have been able to do something towards establishing closer relations; but I am by no means content with what has been done, and have under consideration further machinery to improve economic touch between British India and the States. I welcome the steps Your Highnesses have taken to strengthen the Secretariat of the Chamber; and the appointment of Sir Sultan Ahmed as Adviser is, I am sure, a wise one. I shall always be ready to consult with the Chancellor and his Advisers on this question of economic progress.

I invite your attention to two particular examples of the need for close co-operation—one short-term, one long-term. The short-term instance is that of food-grains; for some time to come world allocations will continue to be made by the Combined Food Board in Washington, and India will have to justify her demand for a share in world surpluses by showing that she is making the best possible distribution of her own resources. In this the produce of British India and the States must be treated as one.

The long-term instance I will give you is the management of India's water supplies, in which direction lies India's best way to progress. In many of the schemes now under consideration, for flood control, for irrigation, for navigation, for hydro-electric power, Provinces of British India and States are closely concerned and it is essential that they should work in close co-operation, so that unified development can take place.

I have no doubt that Your Highnesses are aware of the importance of building up your revenue resources with a view to financing the large expenditure which will inevitably be necessary not only for further economic development but also for the provision of expanding services in the social sphere such as education, medical relief and public health. The latter forms of development must necessarily depend on revenue resources and not on borrowings. In this connection, I need not emphasise the importance of gradually approximating your taxation policies and systems with those of British India. I am glad to learn that this matter is already engaging Your Highnesses' attention.

Your Highnesses, I have briefly reviewed some of the constitutional, political and economic problems with which we are confronted at this time when the war is but recently over and peace barely established. Those problems form part of the complex and difficult situation in which Your Highnesses will shortly be called upon to make decisions, upon the wisdom of which will depend the prosperity of yourselves and your peoples for many years to come. Indian States have had an honourable past: many of them have histories extending over centuries. If Your Highnesses make such adjustments as are necessary to meet the changing

circumstances of the present day, there is every reason to believe that they will play a leading part in the future of India. For myself I have no doubt that this will be so, for I am confident that Your Highnesses will bring to the solution of the problems which confront you that same courage and determination which distinguished your conduct during the war.

His Excellency the Crown Representative: With your Highnesses agreement I proposed this year in accordance with the practice which has been followed on past occasions to call upon the mover of the resolution to rise in the order already arranged and would request Your Highnesses to second and speak without further words from me.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency, when we last met here in October 1948, Your Excellency's appointment as Viceroy had been announced. The Princes of India, then assembled here, referred to it in the following terms:—

"We honour him (the New Viceroy) as the proud hero of one of the turning points in the history of this War. We admire the rare combination of the 'Soldier' and the 'Statesman' which he typifies in his personality. We shall welcome him as a friend, but we welcome his appointment, in particular, as an indication that England does not wish to let down those who have stood by her in the crisis."

I deem it a privilege to offer you, on behalf of the Princes of India, a most cordial welcome to this Session of the Chamber at which you are presiding for the first time.

2. From the dawn of this country's history, almost every Indian Prince has been an actual or potential soldier and it is particularly appropriate that we should today greet and welcome, as our President, a world-renowned soldier who has made history by his achievements on many battle-fields. When the history of the second World War comes to be written, some of the brightest chapters will chronicle General Wavell's great and inspiring leadership and his skill in the science of modern warfare which, at more than one critical period, turned the tide in favour of the Allies.

3. When Your Excellency's appointment as Viceroy was announced, the Princes were deeply gratified, for they felt that, in order to steer India's boat of Destiny to a safe harbour, it was necessary to have, at the helm, one who combined in himself in an eminent degree the qualities of fearless leadership. The Princes also know that in Your Excellency there was to be found the rare combinations of the scholar and the soldier and that, with equal facility, you could wield sword and pen.

4. Your Excellency, we are passing through a momentous period of History. Never have men been called upon to face such dangers, sacrifices and sufferings—so much misery and anguish. But we must regard the trial and travail of the past 5 years as the inevitable accompaniments of a new birth. If the world emerges cleansed and purified from the Titanic struggle of these years, which has ended in the complete defeat of the enemy, if Freedom and Justice become something more than words, the past will not have been in vain.

5. As Your Excellency is aware, the Princes of India have done their best to help the war effort. In giving, as Your Excellency has just remarked we have never wavered, never faltered, nor have we counted the cost; but now that peace has come we ask ourselves what future is in store for us now that the alarms and anxieties of war are matters of the past, when the danger from enemies has receded and the need for friends is no longer insistent?

We believe we see the answer to this question in Your Excellency's appointment as the Crown Representative in India.

In one of your first public utterances, Your Excellency struck a note which has inspired confidence and hope. There is no need for me to repeat what

Your Excellency then said. It is still fresh in our minds and we feel sure that Your Excellency, than whom there is no one better fitted or qualified to pronounce upon the part the Princes have played in the war, will implement your assurance in the spirit and in the letter.

6. We are fully conscious of the difficulties and dangers which lie ahead, but we are confident that Your Excellency's great qualities will enable you, by the Grace of God, to help in finding a just and lasting solution. We feel sure that in taking decisions on issues, great and small, you will never allow the case of the Princes to go by default and that in you we shall always have a stalwart champion of our rights and interests. When we talk of our rights, we wish to assure you that we are not oblivious to our duties and obligations. We are resolved so to act that we earn our rightful and legitimate place in the India of tomorrow.

7. Your Excellency, the task of a Viceroy has always been most exacting, but it has never been more so than at the present crucial juncture. The problems of India complicated by the issues raised by the World War, which is now happily over, and by post-war adjustments demand the highest resourcefulness and foresight from those at the helm of India's affairs. Your first Address at the joint Session of the Central Legislature and the courageous realism with which Your Excellency has since then addressed yourself to the multifarious problems which face this sub-continent are well known. Speaking here on behalf of the Princes of India, I beg to assure Your Excellency of our fullest possible support and co-operation in your efforts to help our country to the immediate attainment of its full stature and ensure the happiness and prosperity of our fellow countrymen.

8. This is the first occasion on which Your Excellency has presided at a Session of the Chamber of Princes. It may, therefore, be permissible to recall that at the inauguration of this Chamber, His Majesty the King Emperor was pleased to declare in the Royal Proclamation that "My Viceroy will take its (Chamber of Princes) counsel in matters relating to the territories of the Indian States generally and in matters which affect those territories jointly with British India or with the rest of my Empire." We look to Your Excellency as our President to see that this intention of His Imperial Majesty is fully implemented. For our part, I need hardly give the assurance of the whole-hearted co-operation of the members of this Chamber and of myself as Chancellor in regard to all matters that appertain to the welfare of our States and ourselves; and the happiness and prosperity of our people.

9. Permit me also to offer a warm and sincere welcome, on behalf of the Princes of India, to Her Excellency Lady Wavell, who has already earned the gratitude of the Country for her interest in, and lead to, many a beneficent activity for India and Indians.

Your Excellency, I now beg to move the resolution which reads as follows:—

"The Chamber of Princes offers a hearty welcome to His Excellency, Field Marshal Viscount Wavell of Cyrenaica and Winchester, as Governor-General of India and His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of the Crown's functions in its relations with Indian States, and tenders its sincerest good wishes to His Excellency."

His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: No pleasanter duty could have fallen on the shoulders of any member on the floor of this house than to associate himself most warmly with the resolution already so ably moved by our Chancellor. It is now two years since Your Excellency took the reins of office one day in October and much has happened in the world during this time. A war, a mighty crusade against injustice and tyranny has been won, and the United Nations of the world stand today on the threshold of a new era of peace and freedom from fear. The years that are to emerge after the end of hostilities are in my humble opinion going to be

still more difficult than the years of war. And it is to the Princes of India and the people of this sub-continent a great pleasure to have at the helm of affairs a Viceroy and a Governor General who, in the long line of illustrious Governors General in this historic country, is, I am sure, going to make a lasting and permanent mark. Your Excellency, those of us who have had the privilege of coming in close contact with you know for certain the sympathy and understanding which you in your heart of hearts have for the settlement of the issues that confront this great sub-continent. And all that I can say is that everyone here voices a feeling and a prayer and a hope that you will succeed in bringing together the people of this country and have an honourable settlement made with His Majesty's Government. I have nothing more to say, Sir, except that we hope that Your Excellency's term of office will be fruitful in all respects and that God bless you.

His Excellency the Crown Representative: Is it your Highness' pleasure that this resolution be passed?

The resolution was passed unanimously, all standing.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: It is a sad part of my duty this morning to move the resolution of condolence on the demise of Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Maharajas of Dewas Junior and Gondal, the Rajas of Sarangarh and Talcher, the Nawab of Balasinor and the Rana of Kumharsain.

The death of His Highness the late Maharao Raja of Bundi is a great loss to the Princely Order. His late Highness represented a great tradition and was the head of a very distinguished Rajput House. His personal charm was always manifest.

2. Another grievous loss which Rajputana and this Chamber have suffered is due to the demise of His late Highness the Maharawal Sahib of Banswara. His Highness was possessed of great ability and had practical knowledge of the working of each department of the State. In his 30 years reign, His late Highness did much to bring peace and prosperity to his people.

It is with deep sorrow that I now refer to the passing of His late Highness the Maharaja Khase Sahib of Dewas Junior. A far-sighted statesman, a wise Ruler and a staunch patriot, His late Highness was a pillar of this Chamber. He took a leading and constructive part in our deliberations and for many years he was closely associated with practically every important decision of the Princes' Standing Committee. In his own State, His late Highness laid the foundations of a happy and prosperous future by many schemes of social, political and economic reforms. As a small token of our gratitude for his great work the Standing Committee have resolved to instal his portrait in the Committee Room to inspire generations to come.

Another loss this Chamber and the Princely Order have suffered is in the demise of His late Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Gondal. His achievements as a scholar and patron of the arts are well known. He was a doyen among Indian Princes, and demonstrated through his life work in his State that a Ruler is great by what he gives and not by what he gets.

We also mourn today the deaths of the Raja Sahibs of Sarangarh and Talcher and the Nawab Sahib of Balasinor who were esteemed members of our Order and of this House.

Amongst Constituent Members we have lost the Rana Sahib of Kumharsain. With these words, I beg to move—

"The Chamber of Princes records its heartfelt sorrow on the demise of Their late Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Maharaja of Dewas Junior, the Maharaja of Gondal, the Nawab of Balasinor, the Rajas of Sarangarh and Talcher and the Rana of Kumharsain together with its sense of loss thereby sustained by the entire Order of Princes and offers its sincere sympathies and condolences to the bereaved families."

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: I beg to second the resolution.

His Excellency the Crown Representative: Is it your Highness' pleasure that this resolution be passed?

The resolution was passed unanimously.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: It is with great pleasure that I now rise to move the resolution of welcome to Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Cochin, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Maharaja of Dewas Junior, the Maharaja of Gondal, His Highness the Raja of Chamba, and the Nawab of Balasinor on their accession to the Gaddi and to the Raja of Gangpur, the Chief of Kanker and the Mahant of Chhuikhadan on their assumption of ruling powers.

I am happy to welcome into our midst today His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi. His Highness has already distinguished himself as a soldier worthy of the great tradition he has inherited. His Highness was on active service in the present war and won the Military Cross for gallantry. We are proud of him. I am confident that with the courage and initiative he has shown, His Highness will achieve similar distinction in the field of administration. His election to the Standing Committee of Princes is a well deserved compliment to his sense of duty and charm of personality.

His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin ascends to the gaddi at a mature age fully alive to his responsibility. By tradition, education and experience he is fully equipped for the task before him.

His Highness the Maharawal of Banswara has had the good fortune of receiving administrative training under the personal guidance of His late Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. During the short period of one and a half years of his rule, he has given ample evidence of administrative ability and his concern for the welfare of his subjects.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas Junior has succeeded to a great tradition built up by his distinguished father. Those of us, like myself, who know His Highness, feel confident that he will make a mark in the service of his people and country and in the councils of this Chamber. The confidence of his compeers in him is marked by his election to the Standing Committee.

His Highness the Maharaja of Gondal has had the advantage of a noble example in his father who has left him a great heritage to sustain. His Highness combines the educational training of the East and the West. His solicitude for his subjects is illustrated by his liberal donations calculated to be over sixty lacs to beneficent and charitable purposes in the State.

His Highness the Raja of Chamba is a promising young Ruler who has received sound education and training and from whom we have great expectations.

The Rulers of Balasinor, Gangpur, Kanker and Talcher are Rulers whom I have great pleasure in introducing as members of the Chamber.

I also take this opportunity to welcome the Mahant of Chhuikhadan who is one of the members of the representative electorate.

All these Princes whom I have the pleasure of welcoming today have taken up their responsibilities at a very critical juncture in the history of the Indian States. The gaze of a critical world is set on the institution of Indian Kingship. I feel confident that equipped as these Princes are with tradition, education and training, they will make a constructive and steady contribution towards the improvement of their States and the happiness and prosperity of their subjects. Moreover, I trust that they will appreciate the imperative need of solidarity amongst ourselves at this juncture and will prove a source of strength to this Chamber. I now move the resolution—

"The Chamber of Princes offers its heartiest congratulations to Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Cochin, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Maharaja of Dewas Junior, the Maharaja of Gondal, the Nawab of Balasinor and the Raja of Talcher on their accession to the Gaddi, and to His Highness the Raja of Chamba, the Raja of Gangpur and the Raja of Kanker on their investiture with ruling powers and wishes them a long and prosperous life".

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

His Excellency the Crown Representative: Is it Your Highnesses pleasure that this resolution be passed?

The resolution was passed unanimously.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior): Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: On behalf of my brother Rulers mentioned in this Resolution, and myself, I rise to thank His Highness the Chancellor for the generous terms in which he has proposed the Resolution, and Your Highnesses for the cordial reception you have been pleased to give it. I am particularly grateful for the reference which His Highness the Chancellor was pleased to make in the condolence resolution to my late lamented father and in this resolution to me personally.

We need hardly give the assurance that we are fully alive to the critical and exceptionally uncertain times in which we have been called upon to take up our responsibilities.

Since our greatest strength must be in the support and happiness of our people, we appreciate that the States have to adjust their administrations so as to respond to reasonable popular demands and harmonise with the changed times. We are fully conscious of the role we will have soon to play and the contributions we may be called upon to make in the building up of a strong and united India, fitted to take its place with the other great nations of the world and to which we, as Indians, would be proud to belong. God willing, we shall not be found wanting in rising to the occasion and making every possible contribution that may be legitimately expected of us. Nor shall we flinch in our endeavours to strengthen the solidarity of the Princely Order and to make it worthy of its great past and glorious traditions. His Highness our Chancellor and the Chamber of Princes can always count on our fullest support and co-operation.

We are grateful to all Their Highnesses for the warm welcome and their invaluable good wishes. I am also personally thankful to my brothers for so kindly conferring on me the privilege of speaking on their behalf.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: It affords me genuine pleasure to rise to propose a vote of thanks, on behalf of this Chamber, to my distinguished brother, His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, for the valuable services rendered by him during his visit to England for the Imperial War Cabinet and the Dominion Premier's Conference.

2. The convention of associating one of the Princes with these important Imperial gatherings has been established and is one which we greatly value. The wisdom of such association with the inner counsels of the Imperial War Cabinet, is proved, if proof be needed, by the well deserved tributes which have been paid by the highest quarters in England, to the solid and constructive contribution made by Their Highnesses the Maharaja Jam Sahib and the Maharaja of Kashmir.

3. His Highness of Kashmir's modesty and sense of duty would not permit him to give publicity to the details of his work at the Imperial War Cabinet or in other spheres. The news of his achievements and his services to his country and the States has reached us, and we take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to him for his invaluable services. His Highness was in London at two of the most dramatic moments of the War, namely, the entry of the allied forces into Rome and the great allied landing on the coast of Normandy.

4. On his way home he visited the Italian Front and he has told us of the thrill of happiness experienced by him when he flew over the German lines in Italy, and saw them being pounded by the allied and Indian troops, amongst whom were his own Forces and those of the other States. He brought us the cheering news of the high morale of the Indian Army and the general admiration which they had earned by their efficiency, discipline and gallantry.

5. Your Excellency, His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir is a most highly respected Member of our Order, one of the leaders of this Chamber and an Ex-Pro-Chancellor. It is a matter of genuine pride for this Chamber to refer to the additional link forged by His Highness, by his valuable work, abroad, in the

great comradeship of arms between the British Commonwealth of Nations and the Indian Princes. I feel confident that this Chamber will unanimously and wholeheartedly associate itself with the Resolution which I have now the privilege to move and which reads as follows:—

“The Chamber of Princes records its grateful appreciation of the valuable services rendered by His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, during his visit to England for the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and the Dominion Premiers’ Conference.”

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: It is with genuine pleasure that I rise to second this Resolution moving a vote of thanks to my dear brother, His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, for the valuable services that he rendered to India and the Princely Order, no less than to the Empire, as a Representative of the Princes and States of India at the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and the Dominion Premiers’ Conference. In doing so I most heartily endorse all that His Highness the Chancellor has said.

It is a source of sincere gratification that His Highness was selected for this work of great responsibility. An experienced administrator, a wise statesman and the Ruler of a great and historic State, His Highness was eminently fitted to be associated with the inner Councils of the Empire at a crucial period of the War and to speak on behalf of the Princes and States of India who made such spontaneous and unstinted contribution for the successful prosecution of the War.

It was only a high sense of duty to the Empire and to his brother Princes that persuaded His Highness to leave his State during the middle of the War for so long a period and to face the rigours and hazards of war and of war-time life in England. By this action and by his work in the War Cabinet and the Dominion Premiers’ Conference, His Highness has earned the esteem of all and the gratitude of the Princes. I know I shall be voicing the feelings of every one present in this Chamber when I express our warm admiration to His Highness for the splendid work done by him.

With these words I strongly commend this Resolution for the unanimous acceptance of this House.

His Excellency the Crown Representative: Is it Your Highness’ pleasure that this resolution be passed?

The resolution was passed unanimously.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: This is a non-controversial resolution. Rules 11 and 12 which regulate the election of the Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber, provide that voting papers will be opened and the result of election declared at the Chamber Session for formal ratification. The election of the Pro-Chancellor is due to be held in March this year.

This technical procedure laid down in the Rules cannot be followed strictly in this particular case. Special authority is therefore sought from this Chamber as was done on a similar occasion in the past so that the voting papers may be opened and the result declared and ratified at a meeting of the Standing Committee instead of at the Session of the Chamber. I beg to move the Resolution—

“The Chamber of Princes recommends that in the event of its Session not being held in March 1946, and as a special measure the voting papers for the next election of the Pro-Chancellor be opened and the result of the election declared for formal ratification at a meeting of the Standing Committee of Princes instead of at the Chamber Session as prescribed in Appendix A to the First Regulations of the Constitution of the Chamber.”

His Highness the Raja of Maihar: I have pleasure in seconding the resolution moved by H. H. the Chancellor.

His Excellency the Crown Representative: Is it Your Highness’ pleasure that this resolution be passed?

The resolution was passed unanimously.

His Excellency the Crown Representative: With Your Highness’ agreement we will now adjourn.

Thursday the 17th January 1946

(AFTERNOON SESSION)

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: I now rise to move the resolution expressing the gratification of this Chamber on the achievement of final and decisive Victory. The resolution reads as follows:—

“The Chamber of Princes expresses profound gratification at the attainment of final and decisive victory in the struggle against aggression and for the vindication of the principles of justice and sanctity of covenants. It records grateful admiration of the heroic deeds of the brave units of the Indian Army with their comrades of the Imperial and Allied Forces. The Chamber of Princes requests His Excellency the Crown Representative to convey the sincerest congratulations of the Princes of India on this occasion to His Imperial Majesty and his Government and to the Heads of the other Allied Nations.”

At the outbreak of hostilities, the Chamber of Princes declared in unequivocal terms the firm determination of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India to render every possible assistance in men, money and material for justice, for the sanctity of covenants and in the defence of their country. Throughout these hard and exacting years the Indian Princes fought this war as their own. We plunged into it when the horizon was dark and others wavered. We made no conditions. We did not bargain or calculate. And now that, by the grace of Providence victory is achieved, we are entitled to feel gratified.

I need not detail here the great story, the many incidents of epic heroism and the landmarks of leadership, organisation, discipline and sacrifice which have contributed to the Allied Victory. The thrilling story of the march from El Alamin to Tripoli and from Stalingrad to Berlin and of the repulse of the Japanese attack on India to the entry of General MacArthur into Japan are matters of history. Future generations will not forget that the glory of contributing the turning point in the history of the war lay with the citadel of the British Commonwealth and will remember the heroic part played by it in the blitz.

We are proud of the contribution made by India and the Indian States in the winning of the war. Spontaneously, without a single exception the Rulers of the Indian States placed the entire resources of their States at the disposal of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor in support of the cause of humanity and defence of their country. Our pledge to support the war effort publicly made on the floor of this Chamber set out only one condition and that was that we would not stop till the enemy was routed and the world cause at stake was vindicated.

Your Excellency with your special knowledge of how the war was fought and won has this morning made a reference to the war contributions of the States which we greatly appreciate.

Today this Chamber meets for the first time after the attainment of victory. We deem it our duty to request Your Excellency to convey to His Imperial Majesty our devoted greetings on the triumph that has been won—a triumph in which Their Majesties set so inspiring an example by the manner in which they shared the hazards and the privations imposed by the war. We wish also to convey to His Majesty's Government and to the Heads of the other Allied Governments our felicitations on the successful termination of hostilities.

Your Excellency, the winning of the peace may be even more difficult than the winning of the war but it has to be achieved. The sacrifices and the horrors of the last six years cannot be allowed to go in vain. We must all make whatever contribution we can towards building up the world structure which is required for the future. The first test will be the manner in which the high

principles of justice, freedom sanctity of covenants and respect for the rights of small nations, for which Allied Nations fought and sacrificed so much are applied in the post-war adjustments. Moreover, the respect for human values and the raising of standards of life will be the criterion by which history will assess the results of this victory. The British Commonwealth of Nations with a free India and the United States of America working together in support of the United Nations Organisation and the principles embodied in its Charter are, I feel, the best hope for the future. I am confident that God willing we of the Indian States will make our full contribution towards the winning of the peace as we have been privileged to make towards the winning of the war.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: I rise to second the resolution which has been moved so eloquently by His Highness the Chancellor.

The final victory of the allied arms in the east as well as in the west has dispelled the dark clouds which had cast a most gloomy shadow over the entire world for a period of six years. The world had suffered during this period untold misery and privation and humanity has only been saved by the determined and heroic fight of the allied forces wielding their arms against the destructive and brutal forces which were struggling in vain for domination over the whole world. The glorious end for which we were striving every nerve through these long years has at last been achieved. But throughout this period of suspense and agony we had never lost hope or courage. We knew that we were fighting against the evil and brutal forces of aggression and we knew also that truth was on our side and that our cause was right and just. We knew that it was the war of humanity in defence of its highest ideals. That was the reason of our success and that was the reason why the forces of evil have been overthrown and the aggressive nations have been laid low for good.

India's contribution including the Indian States to the ultimate and victorious termination of the war has indeed been very great. India's sons have fought bravely shoulder to shoulder in conjunction with the Imperial and the allied forces in almost every theatre of war and they have gained glory and honour not only for themselves, but for their own country and countrymen. They have added fresh renown to India's martial traditions and have made history. In fact India has grown inestimably in her moral and military stature and on that score deserves to have a proper place among the great nations of the world. The Indian States played their part by keeping up their glorious traditions. They had vied with each other in harnessing all their resources in men, material and money to the Empire's war effort. The Indian Princes had given yet another proof of their loyalty to the person and throne of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor during those dark and trying times. Their efforts were spontaneous and they had pledged their word that they would not rest until the enemy was completely routed and victory was fully won. We rejoice today, as we have a right to rejoice, over the notable victory.

But while rejoicing over the great victory we must also think of the countless valiant soldiers, among whom there are so many Indians including those of the Indian States, who have laid down their lives for devotion to duty in action or who have been incapacitated in the gigantic struggle. We are deeply grateful to them for their bravery and noble sacrifice in winning this victory which in reality means winning the peace and prosperity for us all.

Now that victory has been won the great task that lies before us is to place the world on a sounder foundation. We should turn our efforts to a new order based on trust and mutual co-operation and good will of which the world stands in great need. Let us hope that with this victory the world will soon enter a new era of happiness and prosperity and that Providence will grant greater light and wisdom to mankind so that better sense may prevail in the world and an effective formula may be evolved to put an end to future wars and to enable all nations of the world, big and small, to live in perfect peace and harmony for all times to come.

His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: It gives me much pleasure to support the resolution so befittingly moved by His Highness of Bhopal and supported by my brother Prince. Indeed the noble object for which the Allied Nations joined together and took their firm stand against the forces of evil and tyranny which during the first two years of the War seemed to engulf nearly the whole of Europe and against which the brave British Nation alone but not alone for themselves but for the existence of whole humanity—even under the fiery Blitz of 1940—stood unshaken has been fulfilled. The whole world admired the guts which this nation had to stand firm against many odds, and all kinds of difficulties.

It is for the attainment of this noble victory over the evil forces of aggression and for the vindication of the principles of justice and sanctity of human relations that every peace loving and free thinking person would desire to express the feelings of profound gratification and feel grateful to Almighty on this occasion.

The world may now look to the new era of increasing prosperity and orderly progress under the guidance of the United Nations in which the Indian States will play their rightful part. I feel that there can be no time better than the present one for the Princes to send their sincerest congratulations to His Majesty the King Emperor and his Government and to the Heads of Allied Nations who have all played their part so well to bring Peace back to the humanity.

With these words I whole-heartedly support the resolution.

His Excellency the Crown Representative: Is it Your Highness' pleasure that this Resolution should be passed.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: It is now my proud privilege to move the resolution that—

“The Chamber of Princes takes this opportunity of paying its warm tribute to the gallant Indian States Forces on their glorious achievements in every theatre of the World War.”

2. It is a matter of genuine pride to us all that our own soldiers have played a part worthy of their traditions in all theatres of War. The testimony of Your Excellency and of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief who were in a special position to judge, bears witness to the fact that the record of the Indian States Forces has been in accordance with their best traditions. Nearly half a million of our Forces went out of our territories on war service.

3. The first among the troops to set foot in Italy were the infantry unit from an Indian State. Our forces fought with distinction in the East as well as in the West. They formed part of the famous 4th and 5th Indian Divisions which fought with distinction and gallantry in Central, East, and North Africa; they shared in the glories of the Victories of Amba Alagi, Karen and Asmara as well as in the strenuous bitter battles round Sidi Barrani, Bardia, Tobruk, Tripoli and Tunisia. They were among the victorious forces in Sicily and the grim battles of Salerno. Five of the coveted Victoria Crosses have been won by subjects of the Indian States. The other awards to men of the States Forces include so far three D. S. Os., five I. O. Ms., twenty eight M. Cs., twenty two I. D. S. Ms. and thirty-six Military Medals.

5. The welfare of our soldiers whom we are happy to welcome back home is a trust which we shall honour. There are many who have not come back. Their memory will be cherished and it will be a point of honour with us to look after their families.

6. With these words, I commend the resolution for unanimous acceptance of this Chamber.

His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: I rise to second the Resolution moved so eloquently by His Highness the Chancellor. I feel happy that on the first day of my attending this Chamber as a member, I am privileged to be associated with this tribute to the gallant soldiers of our Indian States Forces.

2. I am grateful to Your Excellency for the encouraging reference in your Address this morning to my humble war services. I value this reference in particular from one occupying Your Excellency's enviable position in the hearts of the fighting classes and as a maker of history in this War.

3. I have had occasions of seeing our forces at work. Their morale, their sense of duty and their achievements under most trying conditions won the general admiration. They have raised high the stock of the Indian States and of India. They have as stated by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, taken full advantage of the opportunities that have come to them to win fresh distinction on the battle-field.

4. I deem it my duty to express the confident hope that our brave soldiers who are now coming home will receive the fullest consideration which they have earned. They have made the world safe for us. We owe it to them to make their homes happy for them. And we cannot forget those who have not come back and others who have been disabled. We respect their sacrifices and I whole-heartedly endorse the remarks of H. H. the Chancellor that their sacrifices shall not be forgotten.

I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior): Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: I rise to support the resolution which has been moved by His Highness the Chancellor, and seconded by, His Highness the Maharao Raja Sahib of Bundi, The heroic achievements of the Indian States Forces in this World War, have demonstrated to the world once again, that the highest traditions of Marhatta, Rajput, Muslim, and Sikh chivalry, still pulsate the blood of the Indian States Forces.

2. Your Excellency has been pleased to refer this morning, to my having had the privilege of rendering active service. I am proud of that opportunity, and I am happy to have witnessed many feats of our brave troops with their gallant comrades of the allied and Indian armies. They will inspire generations of soldiers to come.

3. I deem it my duty to make one other observation. I have been closely associated with the recruitment campaign in many States. I can speak from personal experience, that our soldiers were not a mercenary band. They included many of our kith and kin, the pick of our society, the most promising of our youth, many of them had independent means, many of them could have joined other vocations. But, with their traditions, they preferred to join the forces, with all the hazards it involved. They did so, and every soldier knows the motive, because when the call came, they had to justify the martial traditions of their ancestors. History shall record how gallantly they proved their mettle.

4. Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, it is but proper that the Chamber of Princes, in its first meeting after the victorious conclusion of the war, should express publicly its tribute to the great achievements of the Indian States Forces. With these words I have great pleasure not only as a ruler, but also as a former Emergency Commissioned Officer of the Indian Army, in supporting this Resolution.

His Highness the Raja of Mandi: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: As a humble soldier I consider it a privilege to have the opportunity of supporting this resolution.

As soon as the war was declared the Princes of India appreciating their obligations as members of human society, as loyal sons of this country and their pledged obligations to His Imperial Majesty unreservedly placed their resources at the disposal of His Majesty. We are indeed thankful to the Almighty for vindicating the cause for which His Imperial Majesty took up arms resulting in the final and complete victory of the Forces of liberty and freedom over the forces of aggressive nationalism. The magnificent part which the gallant soldiers of the Indian States Forces in conjunction with their brothers-in-arms of the Indian Army, and the United Nations, played in bringing about the glorious results have found praise from all quarters. Those brave sons of the soil

who made the supreme sacrifice so that we may live and carry on the ideals for which they fought will ever live in our hearts. And their names will remain engraved on the Tablet of Time to always inspire posterity to fight for liberty and justice or in other words to always take up arms in what in ancient times was termed a 'Dharam Yudh' in other words a Righteous War. The Indian States Forces have had an opportunity to show their mettle. The high military decorations won by them and the very difficult tasks performed by them in various theatres of war and under trying circumstances have shown that the Indian States Forces when afforded an opportunity are second to none in maintaining their high tradition of gallantry. These opportunities will not only be useful in advancing their technical knowledge but useful contacts established and wider experience gained will no doubt prove of very great use on their return to their respective States.

With these few words, Sir, I give my whole hearted support to this resolution.

His Excellency the Crown Representative: Is it Your Highness' pleasure that this resolution should be passed?

The resolution was carried unanimously.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I now rise to move the Resolution that—

“The Chamber of Princes resolves to place on record its whole-hearted support of the United Nations Organization, for establishment of ‘conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of International Law can be maintained’, for the safeguarding of ‘International Peace and security’ and for ‘the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples’. The Chamber earnestly prays that the United Nations Organization may be enabled to earn increasing confidence by the impartial, timely and courageous discharge of its essential functions in furtherance of the noble purposes and principles embodied in the Charter.”

The Charter of the United Nations declares the determination of the United Nations ‘to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life-time, has brought untold sorrow and misery to mankind.’ It re-affirms “faith in fundamental human rights,” and in this Charter the United Nations pledge themselves to “establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of International Law can be maintained”, and to employ International machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

The framers of the Charter were not content merely to provide a theoretic constitution for the world. They have made provision for International Organisation including the Security Council, the General Assembly, the economic and Social Council and the International Court of Justice to implement the principles and purposes of the Charter. And the Organisation is actually in Session in London today in furtherance of the declared will of the Nations of the World to usher in a new era of global peace and prosperity. This Chamber, I feel sure, will specially welcome and endorse the re-affirmation in the Charter of the faith in the equal rights of Nations—large and small.

The developments of International Trade, Aviation and Wireless have brought the Nations nearer to each other than ever before. The practical application of the power of atomic energy for purposes both good and evil is a warning that nations must either work together for International peace and prosperity or prepare for ruthless and ignominious destruction. The hope for the future rests on the smooth and fruitful functioning of the International Institutions set up under the United Nations Charter. Some of its provisions have been criticised. No human institution is perfect, but the Charter embodies the largest measure of agreement which could be reached by the Nations today. We have to judge it not only from what it is, but from what it can be, what the Nations of the World can make of it. The spirit of mutual tolerance and accommodation which

has inspired the framing of the Charter deserves well of all progressive Nations. I am confident that the Indian States will render every possible assistance so that India, which is an original signatory to this Charter, may be able to make an effective contribution worthy of its highest traditions.

I commend this resolution for Your Highnesses' unanimous acceptance.

His Highness the Raja of Mandi: Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, I beg to second this resolution. At the end of the first world war as every one knows a body known as the League of the Nations was constituted through which it was hoped that all countries would try and solve their differences by peaceful means but for various reasons the foundation of the League which was no doubt a great step forward for achieving lasting peace did not alas fulfil this aspect of its functions and the world was again plunged into a most terrific war which, thanks to God Almighty, has now, though at tremendous cost, been successfully concluded. Though real peace has yet to be restored in the world. There is no doubt that the real desire of every country that some organisation should be established which would make it impossible in future for any one country or a combination thereof to disturb the peaceful atmosphere of the world. The United Nations Organisation on which India has rightly a place has been established with these avowed objects and is to work as a family of the nations to which any country adversely affected by pre-datory designs of its neighbour can come and seek protection of its vital rights. The organisation is expected to bring hope and confidence to all. It is only when there is an effective check on persons and nations who are prepared to resort to unscrupulous ambitions that we can hope for determination of international disputes by peaceful means and that threat or force will fail to achieve its object if there is an organisation guaranteeing political independence or territorial integrity of every State. It is in this spirit that I welcome the formation of this United Nations Organisation which has a great future and earnestly hope that with the whole hearted support and good will of a free India in the British Commonwealth of nations it will prove of real benefit to all mankind.

His Excellency the Crown Representative: Is it Your Highness' pleasure that this resolution should be declared carried?

The resolution was carried unanimously.

His Excellency the Crown Representative: With Your Highness' agreement we will now adjourn.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND DAY

18th January 1946.

The Chamber assembled at the Princes' Chamber, Council House at 11 A.M., on Friday, the 18th January 1946. His Excellency the Crown Representative presided.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present:—

Assam

His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur

Central India States

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| His Highness the Nawab of Baoni. | His Highness the Raja of Jhabua. |
| His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal. | The Rao of Jigni. |
| His Highness the Maharaja of Datia. | The Raja of Khilchipur. |
| His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Br.) | The Raja of Maihar. |
| His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Br.) | The Raja of Nagod. |
| | His Highness the Raja of Samthar. |

Deccan States

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| The Raja of Jamkhadi. | The Raja of Phaltan. |
| The Raja of Miraj (Senior). | His Highness the Raja of Sangli. |

Eastern States

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| The Raja of Bamra. | The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj. |
| The Raja of Daspalla. | The Maharaja of Patna. |
| The Raja of Dhenkanal. | The Raja of Seraikela. |
| The Raja of Keonjhar. | The Maharaja of Sonapur. |
| The Raja of Khairagarh. | The Raja of Talchar. |
| The Raja of Korea. | |

Punjab States

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| The Raja of Baghat. | His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala. |
| His Highness the Nawab of Bhawalpur. | His Highness the Raja of Mandi. |
| His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur. | His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha. |
| His Highness the Raja of Chamba. | His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. |
| His Highness the Raja of Faridkot. | His Highness the Maharaja of Tehri-Garhwal. |
| The Raja of Kalsia. | |

Rajputana States

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| His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar. | His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur. |
| His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. | His Highness the Maharaja Rana of Jhalawar. |
| His Highness the Maharaja Raja of Bundi. | His Highness the Maharaja of Kotah. |
| His Highness the Maharaja of Dungarpur. | The Raja of Shahpura. |

Western India States

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| His Highness the Nawab of Cambay. | His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar. |
| His Highness the Maharaja Raj Saheb of Dhrangadhra. | His Highness the Maharaja Rana of Porbandar. |
| The Raja of Jawhar. | His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla. |
| The Chief of Muli. | |

His Excellency the Crown Representative took the Chair and called upon His Highness the Chancellor to speak.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses:—The Resolution which I am about to move is short in itself but it concerns issues of vital import to the country as a whole and to ourselves.

The world has been in grievous travail for the past 6 years. The cessation of hostilities has indeed ended with the defeat of those who broke its peace and sought to enslave the liberties of its peoples, but it has not yet brought us the millenium we hoped for. We look to-day upon a world in which fear still holds nations—large and small—and in which dissension, doubt and apprehension are rampant. The United Nations Organisation is a courageous attempt to find agreed machinery to resolve, through peaceful means, the differences which otherwise must end in bringing irrevocable disaster upon civilisation.

The hope that the new World Organisation will succeed in its task can, in my view, only fructify however if the Nations and the individuals composing them are able to develop and practise unselfishly in the service of humanity the principles of Justice, Tolerance and Co-operation without which no community of individuals or nations can live together and prosper.

What is true of the world to-day is equally true of this country of ours. It is unfortunately divided and weakened by our differences and disagreements, and it is to the spirit of Justice, Tolerance and Co-operation that I look to bring us to the goal which every thinking Indian, be he prince or peasant, must long to reach. Is there one among us who does not wish to see this land of our birth free, great and respected, making its worthy contribution to the uplifting of humanity as it did in the ages long ago?

If that is how we feel then let us all determine to work for that great end. Let us all be prepared for mutual sacrifices. Let us try to remember that it is more blessed to give than to receive.

The Resolution before us records our intention to make every possible contribution towards the settlement of the Indian Constitutional problem. The character and extent of that contribution it is not yet possible for us to specify, for we have no idea of what the final picture is to be. We can however promise our fullest contribution to any attempt to settle India's constitutional problem on a just and reasonable basis.

As an earnest of that spirit and to enable the States to play their full part in the India of the future I have the honour to make the following declaration in regard to Constitutional developments in the States:—

“The Chamber of Princes in consultation with the Committee of Ministers have given anxious consideration to the question of the development of constitutional Reforms in Indian States, and without prejudice to the correct constitutional position, which has been re-affirmed by the declaration made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government and repeated by His Excellency the Viceroy, that “the decision as to the constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State rests with the Ruler himself to take”, they recommend an immediate declaration by the Chamber of Princes of the policy in this matter and the steps which should be taken immediately, where this had not already been done, to implement it.

The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes is accordingly authorised to make the following declaration on behalf of and with the full authority of the Chamber of Princes.

2 The object is to set up forthwith constitutions in which the sovereign powers of the Ruler are exercised through regular constitutional channels without in any way affecting or impairing the continuance of the reigning dynasty in and the integrity of, each State. There shall be popular institutions with elected majorities to ensure close and effective association of the people with the governance of the

States. It is understood that, in framing the detailed constitution of individual States on the above lines, regard shall be had to the special circumstances in each State.

3. Most States have already adopted statutory provisions guaranteeing the Rule of Law and the security and protection of person and property within their territories. In order to lay down and declare the position in this matter in precise and clear terms, the following essential rights should be guaranteed in States where this has not already been done, with powers vested in the Courts of the States to redress any infringement of these rights:—
 - (i) No person should be deprived of his liberty, nor should his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered or confiscated save in accordance with law;
 - (ii) Every person should have the right to a writ of *habeas corpus*. Such right may be suspended as may be prescribed in case of war, rebellion or serious internal disorder;
 - (iii) Every person should enjoy the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully without arms and without military formation for purposes not opposed to law or morality;
 - (iv) Every person should enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality;
 - (v) All persons should be equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste or creed;
 - (vi) No disability should attach to any person merely by reason of his religion, caste or creed, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, or in the exercise of any trade or calling;
 - (vii) There should be no *Begar*.
4. It is reaffirmed that the administration shall be based on the following essential principles which would be strictly enforced where they do not obtain at present:—
 - (i) The administration of justice must vest in an impartial and competent judiciary, independent of the Executive, and there must be suitable provision for the impartial adjudication of disputes between individuals and the States.
 - (ii) The Rulers in their own States should clearly demarcate administrative Budgets from Civil Lists and fix the latter at a reasonable percentage of the ordinary revenues.
 - (iii) The incidence of taxation must be fair and equitable and a definite and substantial portion of the revenue must be allocated for the benefit of the people, particularly in the Nation-building Departments.
5. It is strongly recommended that the essential measures recommended in this declaration should, where they are not in force, be adopted without delay.
6. This declaration, made spontaneously and earnestly, is inspired by faith in the peoples of Indian States and in the future destiny of the States. It represents the will of the Rulers to implement these decisions without reservation or delay. May it lead to increasing freedom from want and fear, and freedom of the mind and its expression; may it grow on the sure foundations of mutual love, tolerance, service and responsibility!"

Our views and intentions on these crucial questions have frequently been gravely misrepresented in the past. I venture to think that the language of this resolution, and the declaration I am making on behalf of the Chamber of Princes, will leave no room for any doubts whatsoever in the future. I need

say no more in commending the Resolution I am moving for your acceptance. It runs as follows:—

“The Chamber of Princes desires to reiterate that the Indian States fully share the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature, and will make every possible contribution towards the settlement of the Indian Constitutional problem.”

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I rise to second the Resolution moved in such eloquent words by His Highness the Chancellor. It may seem a matter of some surprise that such a Resolution should have to be moved at all: but calumny dies hard and the idea for which there has never been any real justification has persisted that the Indian Princes for some mysterious reason are less interested in the freedom and greatness of India than their brethren across the borders. This cry was raised, one does not know by whom, during the days of the Montague-Chelmsford discussions. In a notable speech delivered by my late revered father of blessed memory at a banquet in 1919 at the Savoy Hotel in London as long ago as over a quarter of a century the lie direct was given to this allegation and I can well remember the enthusiasm with which that speech was received all over India. I may here be permitted to quote from His late Highness' speech on that occasion—

“Finally, I must deal with an issue on which I claim a firsthand knowledge, at least not inferior to that of the Indo-British Association or even of vehement leader-writers in organs echoing its views. The impression has been very freely conveyed that the Princes of India are hostile . . . to the reforms under contemplation. As one who has the honour to represent in England, for the second time, the Princes of India, I feel it my bounden duty to give to this gross misrepresentation the most authoritative and emphatic denial.”

Again in 1930 or 16 years ago at the Round Table Conference the Princes made it abundantly clear—I am proud to feel, in this instance also, through the voice of His late Highness—that they stand squarely by British India in their claims for political advancement and far from wanting to obstruct the progress of their mother-country the Princes were anxious to do all that lay in their power to help India to achieve her destiny and it was this unambiguous declaration that altered the course of events. With that historic statement one should have thought that the ghost of this unworthy allegation was finally laid. But I hear it whispered again—a matter of surprise to our friends in British India and of pain to us—and I am very happy indeed, as I am sure all Your Highnesses will be, that His Highness the Chancellor should have on the floor of this House cleared the position finally in a manner which is capable of no misunderstanding whatever.

It does not require further elaboration on my part except to declare with all the earnestness at my command that we the Princes of India are no less patriotic than others and we no less than others recognise the obligation that every son of the motherland has in working towards the achievement of her destiny. We shall indeed be worthy of no sympathy or consideration at the hands of anyone if we denied our country, forgot our obligations to her, or remained backward in pressing her claims. The Princes along with the rest of India's sons in every walk of life wish to see this beloved land of our birth great and respected in the world, attain her full stature in the family of nations and fulfil the great responsibility that falls to her by her history, tradition and culture in the affairs of the new world.

Now turning to the association of our own States with the future constitution of India I may say that it is a matter of adjustment. I for one do not believe that there are any insuperable barriers in bringing about that adjustment. With goodwill on both sides and an appreciation of reality and a

sense of justice and fairplay we should be able to hammer out a constitution in which the States will feel secure and their rights amply safeguarded.

India today stands at cross-roads. It is for her sons to take the decision which will affect her destiny for many centuries. The Princes and States of India on this solemn occasion declare in no uncertain voice that they view that destiny with calmness and courage side by side with their brethren in British India. It is my prayer that the all-seeing Providence may grant her sons the wisdom to make the right choice and to pursue it unflinching.

The Princes recognise that in any future constitution embracing the States as well, certain adjustments will have to be made in regard to their internal administrations as may be found necessary. This is a matter of importance in itself, quite apart from the impending political changes in India. His Highness the Chancellor has, on behalf and with the full authority of the Chamber of Princes, just made a declaration which to my mind is of far-reaching importance and deals with the problem comprehensively. I for my part give my whole-hearted support to that declaration and would like to give expression to my firm belief that the cause both of the States and of India as a whole will be strengthened and the interests of the Princes served by implementing without delay the principles enunciated in that declaration.

The problem of internal reforms in the States has to my mind three different aspects: constitutional advancement, civil rights and efficiency of administration. Each of these is equally important. The principle of Rulership on which our Governments are based is invaluable as providing a centre of loyalty and a visible symbol of unity in a world torn by dissensions and conflicting ideas. It is based on the identity of the Ruler and the people; on the conception that the Ruler is the true representative of his people and embodies their interests and aspirations. Modern governments have become so complex, the sources of power today are so comprehensive, the forms and operation of governmental authority so wide and pervasive, that this identity between the Ruler and his people has to be maintained by associating them closely with each other. Such association, if it is to be of value, has to be through institutions which have been tested by experience.

As regards the question of civil rights which is no less important, it is needless for me to say much as the declaration speaks for itself. I would however only add that looking to the rapidly changing times it is necessary that these rights should be given effect to where this has not been done, and that too without delay.

In respect of the problem of efficiency, there are, and can be, no two points of view. We have to ensure a high standard of administrative efficiency in our States wherever that does not exist. It will be conceded without doubt that in most of the important States a standard of administrative efficiency has been reached which leaves little room for criticism. This Chamber has been fully alive to all the implications of this problem. A Special Committee was appointed last year, over which I had the honour to preside, with instructions to go into the whole question of administrative standards, and the report of the Committee, which has now been made available to the Princes, shows what great importance the States attach to the solution of this problem.

Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, the question that faces the Princes and States at this critical time is essentially one of adjusting their ancient traditions and forms of government to a changing age. The time at our disposal is short, while the decisions we have to take are grave and of far-reaching importance. I am however convinced that there is an inherent strength in our politics which will enable us to initiate these changes with safety. There is nothing in our traditions which need stand in the way of suitable changes. There is nothing in our political system which is necessarily retrograde or unprogressive. If we have the wisdom to read the signs of the times and wisely to decide on our course of action, then we can face the future with calmness. But time is fast slipping by. A decision has to be taken, and in

plain terms it is this: whether we stand with the forces of progress, or turn our backs not facing realities. In my own mind, I have no doubt that the Princes and States would elect to march with the world to a higher destiny. To do so would need a courageous determination to effect the necessary changes in our own States. That is what this declaration recommends in clear and emphatic terms, and I would make an earnest appeal to my brother Princes to give effect to this declaration wherever the existing conditions may require adjustment.

His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur: It is a pleasure and privilege to support this resolution so ably moved by H. H. the Chancellor and so brilliantly supported by H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner. No words of mine could improve upon what he has said and I earnestly commend it for the acceptance of this Chamber.

The Raja of Korea: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: We are considering here today under the shadow of momentous world events the question as to what the attitude and role of the Indian States and Princes would be in the future political activities of India. The consideration of this question at this moment, when we have before us Your Excellency, who has himself been wrestling with these intricate problems and endeavouring to pave the way for satisfactory solutions in a sincere manner and with untiring zeal, is very opportune, as we have the advantages of receiving from you your able guidance and inspiration which would be of particular value to us in our deliberations.

Public opinion in British India while framing its schemes for the future constitution of the country has been, as is natural, wondering and speculating as to what the attitude of the Princes would be to these schemes and what their reactions are to the political aspirations of their own people for similar progress in their own States.

As has just been said by His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Bikaner there were as far back as the Round Table Conference days, certain misconceptions and misapprehensions in the minds of our brethren in British India with regard to the attitude of the Princes and the sincerity of that attitude. In those discussions, on behalf of the Princes, the Chancellor ably assisted by His Highness of Bikaner's distinguished father made it quite clear that the Princes had every desire to sympathise with the natural and legitimate ambitions of British India and that they should certainly be expected to play their due role in the framing and implementation of any constitution which was devised and was calculated to solve the constitutional tangle of this country and enable her to move forward to her destiny and take her place in the family of nations. Now, it is necessary for them to reiterate their views and assurances again and say what they mean and wish to do. The present circumstances require that they should disclose their intentions in clear and unequivocal terms.

If there is to be no misunderstanding and a perfect atmosphere of cordiality is to prevail, there has to be between British India and the States a perfect understanding which would ensure mutual respect for the needs and dues of both of them and a desire for sincere co-operation and assistance by one in the problems and activities of the other.

Besides this atmosphere of cordiality between British India and the States there has also to be a similar understanding and atmosphere in the States between the Ruler and his people. With a view to ensuring that understanding and atmosphere His Highness the Chancellor, authorised and advised by his colleagues in the Standing Committee has placed before us a declaration. For a perfect understanding between the Ruler and his people such an atmosphere has to be created and sustained as would give to the people, as His Highness the Chancellor has stated, a perfect sense of security with regard to their person and property—an assurance that they have the essential freedoms, of course, subject to the necessary legal controls in case of abuse—a feeling that their administration is based on a proper system of laws and is conducted in accordance with the

methods usually recognised as constitutional and in which administration they themselves have an active part to play. They have also to have an assurance that the revenues of the State make provision for their welfare and for their mental, moral and material advancement to the fullest extent.

In the mind of the Ruler himself, if I may be permitted to say, this atmosphere of cordiality should engender a feeling that he has the widest scope for the service of his people in an active manner and that while he renders that service honestly and sincerely, he has the fullest assurance that their whole-hearted support and co-operation is behind him and that his cause is their cause.

As to the possibility of fruition of what the Rulers desire to do I might say that the Indian States in the past history of India have had a unique position. The rich heritage which this history has bequeathed to them and their Rulers, the fact that they have assumed and are assuming today positions of responsibility and leadership, the fact that, they have been privileged to be the repositories and patrons of the country's art, learning and culture, and the fact that in the present times it has been their privilege to achieve a marked degree of success in keeping communal dissensions and tensions out of their States are all factors which have combined and should combine in securing to them the necessary training for building up a background and a tradition for the role which the future calls upon them to play. After having listened to what His Highness the Chancellor has said and finding that what he has observed has had an echo in every heart there is not much that I have to say. I only wish to reaffirm that there is a sincere desire and an earnest determination on the part of the Rulers to assure the British Indian public opinion that they would always have their co-operation and further to remind the States of their duties to their people, their mother country and the world opinion at large.

With these words I beg to offer my humble and whole-hearted support to the resolution which His Highness the Chancellor has moved and which has been very eloquently supported by other distinguished speakers who have spoken before me.

His Highness the Raja of Mandi: Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, it is a matter of genuine pleasure to me to associate myself with this resolution which has been moved in such eloquent and forceful terms by His Highness the Chancellor and so ably seconded by His Highness of Bikaner and supported by other brother Princes. The clear exposition of the view point of the States and the steps they desire to take in order to achieve their rightful position in the future of India leave very little for me to say.

The Indian States on their part have, as expressed in clear words by the previous speaker, always been willing to fully co-operate by making reasonable sacrifices in any arrangements which may result in India rising to its full stature. It is, therefore, unfortunate that insidious suggestions are made misrepresenting the Princes as living impediments in the political progress of India, but cold and careful consideration will undoubtedly show that there is no iota of truth in such statements. The Princes yield to none in their love for the motherland: it was through their contribution at the Round Table Conference that the idea of All-India Federation found practical expression. No fair minded person would deny that all elements constituting the political fabric of India should be ensured their due share and fairplay in the political life of India. It must be so done as to inspire a sense of security and self respect which is essential for stability in the working of any constitution. The Indian States merely desire to have their rightful place in order that they may be able to contribute effectively to the life of India.

It is unnecessary for me to make a reference to the developments that have taken place in this direction ever since 1935 but it would be wrong to assume that we in the Indian States do not appreciate trend of the times. The world is

moving fast and the repercussions of the gigantic struggle which has been successfully brought to an end only recently clearly indicate that new ideas, new influences and new political theories are developing with such rapidity that in this fast changing world every country, nay every unit of administration, must give up past conservatism and so orientate its policy that it has fair chances of meeting the forces which have been unloosened. Rulership need not be identified with unmitigated autocracy. The Rulers of the States have always been appreciative of the desirability of associating their people with the Government and I have no doubt that where such measures have so far fallen short of the general standard, which has now been declared by our popular Chancellor on behalf of the Indian States, the leeway in this respect will be made up. The basis of the ancient system of government in Aryavarth—which has been handed down to us from father to son—charged the Ruler with the responsibility of representing the true aspirations of his people in order that the Raja and the Praja may always be considered as two important component parts of the machinery of State; and when in modern times it is now tempered by popular assemblies of people, either modelled on one or more of the western forms and conceptions of democracy or developed by adjusting the ancient *cum* modern indigenous system of representation of the people to the present day trend of thought it is, in my humble view, in the present times at any rate, the best political form of administration for all guaranteeing as it does exercise of civil liberties, political freedom contained in a well defined constitution and maximum economic and social development maintaining of course the personal touch of the Rulers. It would, however, be unfortunate if this were to give an impression that what has been stated today embodies the last word on the subject. Nature demands change and anything which becomes static must cease to exist if the ancient States are to exist in the modern world, of course in the interest of the people and themselves, which in my humble view are identical with those of the Rulers they must progress and move with the times. The Princes of India as sons of the soil are naturally conscious of the fact that they must at all times as they have done through the centuries, keep abreast of the political requirements of the day.

The war has demonstrated closer identity of interests between British India and the Indian India and it does appear that both Indias must appreciate the point of view of each other in order that Greater India is evolved which may play part worthy of itself in the councils of the world. Sir, I may be wrong but it is beyond the comprehension of an average individual to understand the paradox when some ask for self determination but deny it to others or seek to unite India by dividing it. As far as one can see on taking a long term view of the matter the good of the country lies in its unity which must of course be broad—based on the foundations of justice and fairplay for every community or interest comprising the social structure of India. The differences of ideology among the main political parties in British India, Sir, appear to be based on struggle for political power and if this unfortunately results in breaking up the unity of our motherland—Hindustan, achieved through strenuous efforts extending over a century and a half, the Indian States will then no doubt be free to take such appropriate action as the situation may demand keeping always in view the good of our people and of the country as a whole.

The removal of poverty and ignorance appear to me to be pre-requisite for the creation of conditions which may lead to raising the general economic standard in the country. This again even with the best will in the world is only possible if there is real and abiding peace as without it all economic plans, however well conceived or devised will vanish into thin air and the posterity will never excuse us of this generation for having missed a golden opportunity. It is my earnest hope and I am confident the desire of every one that this will result in the realisation of the utmost necessity for mutual tolerance and trust in the greater interests of our motherland.

Sir, there is earnestness in this resolution and it is not a mere paper proposition. It has been moved with careful consideration and as far as I know reflects generally the attitude of the Princes of India on this all important question of the day and I have of course very great pleasure in supporting it.

H. E. the Crown Representative: Is it Your Highnesses' pleasure that this Resolution should be passed?

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

Statement by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal reviewing the work performed by the Chamber during the past year

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES:—

I now rise to present my review of work since the last Chamber Session in October 1943. The two and a half years were marked by important developments in many spheres of activity. Till April, 1945, our first concern was intensification of war effort. Thereafter the urgent Post-war problems affecting the welfare of our people have engaged growing attention. In the first six months of this period, His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar was Chancellor, and I need hardly mention that His Highness' leadership of the Chamber was marked by his ability and energy and devotion to India and the States.

2. The period under review was one of unprecedented activity. The various Committees and Sub-Committees had over sixty sittings during the period under Report. The Standing Committee met eleven times including four meetings with the representatives of the Crown Department. Each of the following important Committees held several meetings during the period:—

- (i) Post-war Reconstruction Committee which deals with questions relating to post-war planning so far as they affect the States in general;
- (ii) The Bikaner Committee under the Chairmanship of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner on the Standards of Administration in the States;
- (iii) Porbandar Committee under the Chairmanship of His Highness the Maharaj-Rana of Porbandar examined the urgent problems of attachment and joint services affecting States with smaller resources.
- (iv) Finance Committee which advises the States on various fiscal and financial questions.
- (v) The Special Committee on Aviation, Railways and Road Transport.
- (vi) The Publicity Committee which decides on the policy of the States' Public Relations Directorate.
- (vii) The Civil List Committee of Rulers on the demarcation of Civil Lists from the administrative budgets.
- (viii) The Drafting Committee which conducted preliminary examination of important questions relating to the position of the States in the future constitutional arrangements of India.
- (ix) The Constitutional Advisory Committee and the Study Circle which examined the problem of the future constitutional developments.
- (x) The Legal Committee which examined from the point of view of the States various legal issues arising out of resolutions and other enactments in British India.

In addition to the meetings of the various Committees important conferences were held between the representatives of the Government of India and the Indian States. These discussions were primarily concerned with the questions relating to industrial developments in the States and the co-ordination of arrangements for civil aviation.

The recommendations of the aforesaid Committee, the conclusions emerging there from and the aforesaid discussions have been made available to the States and in some cases are receiving active consideration of the Standing Committee. I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere appreciation of the valuable work done by these Committees.

3. Special mention must be made of the work done by the Committee of Ministers which is a regular and important wing of our organisation. It includes representatives of the bigger and the smaller States. The 21 gun States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior and Kashmir are permanently represented on this Committee. These States have given the Committee of Ministers a succession of able and distinguished Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen which include Rt. Hon'ble the late Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Sir Manubhai Mehta and Nawab Said-ul-Mulk of Chhatari. All important questions which came before the Standing Committee were discussed in the first instance by the Committee of Ministers whose recommendations were after full and careful examination generally accepted by the Princes Standing Committee. The Committee of Ministers continued to maintain its highest traditions of constructive service and frank advice for which I am grateful to the Ministers and in particular to that doyen of the Indian States Ministers—Sir Manubhai Mehta.

During the period under report, the Chamber received valuable and solid support from the Rulers and Governments of almost all the States of the Chamber of Princes. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda attended important meetings of the Standing Committee and was a member of the Delegation which met Your Excellency in September, 1945. His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, to whose illustrious father, the Chamber of Princes owes so much, has been closely associated with our work. His Highness the Maharaja Holkar of Indore has been attending the meetings of the Standing Committee and has taken keen interest. His serious illness, from which we all wish him speedy recovery, has prevented him from being present on this occasion. Their Highnesses of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Patiala, and Bahawalpur have taken a leading part in our deliberations. The elected representatives of the Rulers of the Maritime States, the Rajputana States, Punjab States, Central India States, Gujarat States, Deccan States, Eastern States and others have made valuable contributions to the Princes Standing Committee and the Committee of Ministers.

I have great pleasure in welcoming back to the Chamber, after several years of absence, a distinguished member of our Order—His Highness of Kapurthala.

The States of Travancore and Udaipur, however, have not been taking part in the formal activities of the Princes Standing Committee and the Committee of Ministers, because of their difference in principle with the representation allotted to them on these Committees. Nevertheless, I am grateful to the distinguished Rulers and Dewans of these States for the support extended by them to many of our informal activities and to me personally. That distinguished Statesman, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer is a leading member of our Constitutional Advisory Committee, and Chairman of an important Committee on constitutional problems. His advice and contribution have been characteristic of him and are most valuable. Similarly that veteran administrator Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar, the Dewan of Udaipur, has been a very helpful member of our Finance Committee and of the Constitutional Advisory Committee. He represented us at the recent United Nations Food Conference in Canada.

I will now refer to the important discussions which we have had with His Excellency the Crown Representative during the period under review. The Princes Delegation met His Excellency on the 15th and 16th September, 1944 and discussed with him matters of immediate and vital importance. The most important of these items were Treaty Rights, Post-war Development, Settlement of disputes through Courts of Arbitration, Industrial Policy, Attachment and Joint Services. Your Highnesses are aware of the circumstances in which these discussions were interrupted, and that they have recently been resumed, and I am happy to report that satisfactory progress has already been made towards the settlement of the outstanding points. Discussions are proceeding and we hope for a settlement as early as possible of all the points at issue.

I wish to take this opportunity of repudiating publicly and in unequivocal terms the suggestions made in certain quarters that the Princes Delegation had urged certain points against the constitutional development of India or of the States. It is hardly necessary for me to reiterate that none of the points urged by the Delegation could even remotely be described as anti-India or anti-States. Nothing is further from our intentions.

There have been important discussions between the representatives of the Government of India and of the States relating to industrial policy of the Government of India so far as it affects the States. Our representatives have made it clear that in the interests of the country as a whole the Indian States are prepared to co-operate to the fullest extent possible with the plans requiring all-India co-ordination, this must however be on the definite understanding—

- (a) that the States are adequately associated in the formulation and implementation of policies on matters affecting them;
- (b) that there is no discrimination against the States and their peoples;
- (c) that the States are assured due quota of whatever machinery may be available to India, if required by them and this must take into account the industrial backwardness of the States in general which entitle them to special treatment;
- (d) that no impediments are placed in the way of the legitimate development of the resources and industries in the States and they should be free to give legitimate encouragement to their nascent industries;
- (e) that in view of the diversity of conditions in British India and the States, co-operation in this matter could not necessarily imply uniformity in regard to details of the plan

I do not wish to refer here to the details of the discussion held on this item. Mention must however be made of certain facts to remove the existing misunderstandings regarding the alleged migration of British Indian capital or industries into the Indian States. The argument generally employed to support this allegation is that the levels of taxation on industries in the States is lower than in British India and this must necessarily lead to a migration of industries to the States. Neither the aforesaid allegation nor the argument on which it is based is, in our opinion, supported by facts. The capital invested in the industries in the States out of total capital invested in the industries in India, is a very small proportion of what the States may claim on any equitable basis such as population or natural resources. Moreover, it is well known that in the past the flow of capital has been manifestly from the States into British India. The figures for the period during which control has been established show:—

| | British India | States |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|-----------|
| Total applications made | 4,106 | 218 |
| Total applications accepted | 3,238 | 143 |
| Capital issue sanctioned | 162 crores | 22 crores |

This showed that out of the total issue of new capital, 162 crores have been sanctioned for British Indian companies and only 22 crores for the companies in the States. Further a substantial portion of this 22 crores must have been contributed by shareholders in the States. Against this 22 crores, the investments from the States in War Loans alone exceeded fifty crores.

It may be of interest to Your Highnesses that the States of U. S. A. and the Provinces of Canada have not adopted the principle of parity of taxation and there is wide divergence in their levels of industrial taxation.

Nevertheless we have in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill expressed our willingness to examine proposals which would enable us gradually to approximate our industrial taxation to that of British India. It must however be borne in

mind that the States may find it difficult in the interest of their people and their nascent industries to accept British Indian taxation policies without having a voice in the framing of those policies. British India itself has reached the present taxation levels by a process of gradual and slow increase in its taxation. The States may find it extremely difficult to accept a level which took British India 60 years to reach. States are backward in their industrial development and their young industries need nursing and encouragement. Negotiations on all these matters are proceeding in a very friendly atmosphere, and discussions so far held have revealed that there is no such incompatibility between the interests of British India and the Indian States that the interests of the one cannot be fairly met without injustice to those of the other.

The development of civil aviation is another important subject on which discussions have taken place between our representatives and those of the Government of India. I am glad to report that most of the points of doubt or difficulty have been satisfactorily settled. We confidently hope that the few points now outstanding will be sympathetically met as early as possible. The most important of these points is the necessity of providing some suitable machinery to which appeals could be made on certain essential and specified items, against the decisions of the proposed Licensing Board. This suggestion received support at the recent meeting of the Aviation Policy Committee from our representatives as well as from the representatives of British India and was accepted by the Hon'ble Member for Posts and Aviation. We trust that it will be implemented as early as possible. The period under review has been marked by an all round improvement in the standards of administration in the States and the raising of standards of living of the people. In this, as in other spheres, the advice and assistance of the Secretariat have been freely sought by the States and all available information has been placed at their disposal.

A number of important International Conferences were held during the period under report at which representatives from the States were associated with the Indian Delegation. Sir V. T. Krishnamachari attended San Francisco conference and is now a Delegate to the United Nations Assembly which is sitting in England. Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar and Mr. Rajwade attended the United Nations Food and Agricultural Conference in Canada. Captain Dhandu was an adviser to the International Labour Conference in Paris. Mr. G. Sayadain was deputed to the United Nations Education and Cultural Conference in London. Sardar K. M. Panikkar and Mir Maqbool Mahmud were invited to attend the British Commonwealth Relations Conference held in London. I wish to thank Your Excellency for the facilities provided for those representatives to attend the various conferences. Their reports and the information brought by them will, I feel confident, be of considerable interest to the States.

Recently, an Industrial Delegation on behalf of the States visited the United Kingdom, United States of America and Canada. It was ably led by Mr. H. S. Malik and included Mir Maqbool Mahmud, Sardar K. G. Mahadik, Captain Dhandu and Mr. E. Christensen with Mr. P. Mukerjee and Mr. H. D. Mehta as Advisers. This Delegation received the fullest co-operation of governments and of the Industrial Concerns of the countries they visited, and I wish to take this opportunity of conveying to them our sincere thanks on my behalf and that of this Chamber. I trust that the contacts made by the Delegation will be of real assistance to the Industrial development of the States.

The Standing Committee took the important decision, during the period under review, to set up a Public Relations Directorate as a part of the Chamber Secretariat. The Directorate has been established, and has already shown promise of much useful work.

During the period under review important preparatory discussions were held by the Chancellor with some senior officers of important military States to consider urgent questions relating to the re-organisation of the Indian Army and of the Indian States Forces. We trust that before final proposals are made on this subject the representatives of the States will be given an opportunity to

discuss this question with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and others concerned.

Consultations in Delhi on matters of common concern take place daily. We have a large number of important matters affecting the States under discussion between the Political Department and other Departments of the Government of India and the Chancellor and his Advisers. Questions relating to constitutional developments in the country are daily arising, and there are varied and frequent references by individual States to the Chancellor which require close and urgent attention. The Chamber activity in the sphere of International problems has grown to very large proportions. Proposals in regard to internal reforms in the States have frequently to be discussed and plans prepared. These activities of the Chamber have brought heavy pressure of work on the Chancellor, his Advisers and the Secretariat. With a view to meeting all these demands the Chamber Secretariat has been re-organised and enlarged to deal with the increasing activities of the Chamber, and to assist in the important developments concerning the States. As a part of this re-organisation, the post of 2 Advisers to the Chancellor have been created to one of which Sir Shanmukham Chetty was first appointed. His association with our organisation proved very helpful even for the short period that he remained with us; his selection as Chairman of the Tariff Board necessitated his leaving us to serve the wider interests of the country. We are fortunate in having secured the services of another eminent and distinguished statesman of the calibre of Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed as Adviser to the Chancellor. His advice and assistance have been most valuable.

This concludes the review of the more important work accomplished during the period under review. I am grateful to Your Excellency for the consideration shown as our President and to my colleagues of the Standing Committee for the generous support which they have consistently extended to me. I must record my obligations and that of this Chamber to Sir Conrad Corfield for his valuable advice and assistance which have been of real help in dealing with many difficult and delicate problems. I would wish to thank Sir Kenneth Fitze. Mr. L. C. L. Griffin and Mr. C. G. Herbert for their assistance as Secretaries of the Chamber during this period. I am obliged to Mr. Shattock and other Deputy Secretaries of the Political Department for their helpful co-operation. I wish also to express my appreciation of the valuable assistance rendered throughout this period by the Secretariat under the able and trusted guidance of Mir Maqbool Mahmud.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I consider it a privilege to propose a vote of thanks to His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal, our popular Chancellor.

It is hardly necessary for me to refer to the impressive record and remarkable achievements of our Chancellor during the period that he has held this important office. The Chancellorship of the Chamber of Princes is no bed of roses. It is a sacred trust and an onerous responsibility which needs high qualities of leadership. During the recent troublous and fateful times, the burden of this office has become considerably heavier and the eventful term which he is completing has entailed exceptionally heavy stress and strain. His Highness' Chancellorship covered a period during which we were involved first in winning the war and then in the equally difficult and complex task of winning the peace in which we are still engaged. Besides during this period important questions, such as, industrial policy, civil list and constitutional reforms, etc., have had to be tackled. As Your Highnesses are aware, the direction and guidance of our Chancellor has been of real assistance in a satisfactory settlement of some of these outstanding matters.

We are happy that in these dynamic times when events of great consequence are moving with unusual rapidity, His Highness' wise counsel has been available to us. He has, indeed, been a vigilant custodian of the legitimate rights and interests of the Indian Princes and has been giving us valuable guidance.

shaping our policy in relation to the internal problems of the States and the role we should play in respect of the matters affecting the well-being of the entire country.

He has conducted the affairs of the Princely Order with unremitting zeal and untiring energy and has established an undoubted claim to our gratitude. Being himself an arduous worker, it is not surprising that he is a hard task-master, but his leadership has the quality of drawing the best out of all those who are associated with him in his work.

He enjoys our esteem and confidence and has been most helpful in maintaining the solidarity of the Princely Order. By re-electing His Highness unanimously as Chancellor for a second term, we have all re-affirmed our confidence and trust in him.

I have enjoyed his friendship and confidence which I value; it is, indeed, a great pleasure to work with him in the service of the States and of India. I am sure I am voicing the sentiments of every one here when I say that we are happy, that in the difficult days to come, we shall have him with us.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I have great pleasure in rising to second the vote of thanks to His Highness the Chancellor and to associate myself whole-heartedly with the befitting tribute paid by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala to our popular Chancellor. The normal duties and responsibilities of the high office of the Chancellor have always been very onerous but in these days when India is at the threshold of a great evolution, when events of great consequences are moving so fast, these duties have become much more heavy and irksome than ever before. I am glad to say that the States are fortunate in having His Highness the Nawab Ruler of Bhopal as the leader of the Princely Order at this critical juncture. His Highness the Chancellor combines in himself the best qualities of a valiant soldier and an astute statesman. The fact that he continues to enjoy our confidence and trust has already been abundantly manifested by the fact that at the last elections he was unanimously re-elected as our Chancellor. I think I am voicing the feelings of not only those who are present here today, but also of those who for some reason or other are not able to attend these deliberations, when I say that by his great tact and vision His Highness the Chancellor has been a vigilant custodian of our rights and interests and has shouldered the grave responsibilities of his high office with marked ability and success even at enormous personal inconvenience. He has thus earned the confidence of his brother princes and has established an undoubted claim to our deep gratitude.

His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I deem it a matter of honour to support the Resolution moved and seconded so ably by Their Highnesses of Patiala and Kapurthala. I have had the privilege of working on the Standing Committee with His Highness the Chancellor throughout the memorable term of his Chancellorship for which I regard myself singularly fortunate. I am in a position to say without hesitation that the devotion, coupled with outstanding ability and tact, with which His Highness the Nawab Ruler of Bhopal has discharged the onerous, difficult and delicate duties of his high office, is not only deserving of the very highest praise but is a matter of gratification to his Order. His Highness' name is already associated with the great names of some of his celebrated predecessors in office and it is no exaggeration for me to state that no one has adorned the illustrious position of Chancellor with greater distinction than His Highness. The patience and readiness to grasp, with that understanding sympathy, the difficulties of his brother Princes, as he has invariably shown, have been characteristic of His Highness and the manner in which he has responded to the call of duty in the service of his Order, often at great personal inconvenience, goes to show how indefatigably he has applied himself to his noble task. Every year that passes brings with it fresh and complex problems and the courage, resource and statesmanship with which our redoubtable and popular Chancellor has tackled the problems of the moment are worthy of our lasting gratitude.

Your Highnesses, I have much pleasure in commending this Resolution for your acceptance.

His Excellency the Crown Representative: Will Your Highnesses signify your desire that this vote be passed? Carried unanimously.

Reply of the Members and Representative Members of the Chamber of Princes to His Excellency the Crown Representative's address

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency:—We desire at the outset to express our gratitude for the welcome which you have extended to us and for the courtesy and consideration with which you have presided over our deliberations.

2. We listened with particular interest to the reference in Your Excellency's Address to the re-election of the Chancellor and to the Pro-Chancellor. We share Your Excellency's appreciation of the ceaseless services to the States rendered by His Highness the Nawab Ruler of Bhopal as Chancellor and are happy that his guidance and leadership will be available to us during the next two years which promise to be among the most eventful of our history.

We endorse the well deserved tribute which Your Excellency paid to the great services to this Chamber and to the country rendered by His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar. For more than eight years His Highness held continuously the office of the Chancellor or Pro-Chancellor. We are grateful to him for his valuable work and able leadership throughout this difficult period. We regret that he has felt unable to continue in office for a further period.

3. We whole-heartedly share Your Excellency's gratification at the change in the war situation since the Chamber met in 1943. This, as Your Excellency has rightly pointed out in your Address, is primarily due to the steadfastness of the allied nations and the prowess of their fighting forces. We are glad to have Your Excellency's testimony, with your inside knowledge of events, that the Indian States have had a proud share in the Victory, and that, throughout difficult times and dark days, they without exception, stood loyally by the causes at stake, "unmoved, unshaken, unseduced and unterrified". Your Excellency's references to the part played by our State Forces, by our peoples, and by those of us who took part in active operations or encouraged the troops at the front by their presence, will be particularly appreciated coming as they do not only from the Viceroy but from a great and honoured soldier.

We are happy to learn that His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir and His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb filled their posts on the Imperial War Cabinet with distinction and with advantage to India. That they would do so we had never doubted.

4. We need hardly assure Your Excellency that the Indian Princes are ready to make every possible contribution to the winning of the peace as they have done to the winning of the war. The framing of its future constitution is the most important of the post-war problems facing India. We are ready to collaborate with our compatriots from British India in finding a fair, just and immediate solution of this problem. We will, as suggested by Your Excellency, take our proper share through our accredited representatives in the preliminary discussions announced in your broadcast of the 19th September, 1945 to evolve an agreed procedure for pursuing the constitutional discussions. We recognise that India's constitutional problem is complex and delicate. But, while we are not unmindful of the difficulties in the way, we feel that the necessity of reaching fair and just solution without further delay is of such paramount importance as to demand the earnest co-operation of all concerned.

5. We are grateful to Your Excellency for the re-assurance that there is no intention to initiate any change in our relationship with the Crown or the rights guaranteed by our Treaties and Engagements without our consent. We have already declared that we have no intention of withholding our consent to any adjustments which may be required under the future constitutional arrangements in India and which we consider reasonable in the wider interests of India. The attitude of the Indian Princes towards the constitutional advancement of India was reiterated last July in a public statement in unequivocal terms by the

Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. He made it clear that we share the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature—political, economic and social, and we have pledged ourselves without any reservation to promote the advancement and happiness of our peoples. We have re-affirmed this intention in the Resolution passed unanimously at this Session of the Chamber. We stand by that declaration. We desire our Motherland to occupy her due place among the great nations of the world. The higher the status of an Indian the greater must be his sense of humiliation at the continuance of the present political deadlock in the country. We are prepared to make whatever contribution we can towards its solution and will be ready even to make sacrifices which we are convinced are necessary in the interests of the country as a whole. We confidently hope that the spirit of justice, fairplay and mutual accommodation will inspire the forthcoming constitutional discussions and that the proposals which emerge will be such that it may be reasonably possible for us to give our consent to them.

6. We are glad to get Your Excellency's testimony to the fact, that in no part of India is administration more efficient or industries better organised and the welfare of the people better secured than in some of the States. Your Excellency emphasised three conditions which you consider necessary for a State to conform its administration to the requirements of the time, *viz.*, political stability, adequate financial resources and effective association of the people with the administration. We are not quite sure as to what is intended by the term 'political stability' in this text but this term, as we understand it, must take into account the historic background and geographical position of the States and as such it can be inherent in a unit even of a small size.

Moreover, while we recognise the importance of adequate finance in providing higher standards of administration, we would wish to emphasise that the potential resources of many Indian States are awaiting development and therefore their existing revenues alone should not be the criterion of assessing their financial position.

Your Excellency has invited smaller States, whose resources may be insufficient to meet the cost of a modern administration, to join a larger unit or combine with other small States to provide the requisite standard. We take it as understood that the arrangements envisaged under this suggestion are intended to proceed on the basis of mutual consent and do not exclude suitable schemes of joint services between some bigger and some smaller States where these may be evolved by mutual agreement. In fact some of the smaller States have admittedly efficient administrations and are willing to do all they can, individually where necessary or through suitable voluntary schemes of joint services, to effect such further improvements as may be possible and required to meet local conditions. The Chamber of Princes has already stated its view that where individual States cannot themselves afford the agreed standards of efficiency required in modern times, they should do so by making suitable arrangements with some other State or States. We are convinced that it is possible to ensure the objective in view without impairing the continuance of the ruling dynasty, the izzat of the Rulers or the integrity and autonomy of the States concerned. The declaration made by the Chancellor during this Session makes it clear that the States, big and small, are determined to make every effort possible to raise the standards of living and social services in their States and to associate their peoples with the administration of the States. The Rulers concerned are entitled however to be assured that their agreeing to work out suitable schemes of joint services for the further improvement of their administrations will not be used as a justification for undue interference by local officers in their internal affairs. We feel confident that there will be no difficulty in the Rulers concerned themselves agreeing to suitable schemes of joint services where needed, if they are assured in unequivocal terms that such co-operation will not lead to an impairment of their sovereignty and an increase of outside interference. We feel sure that in asking the smaller States which cannot themselves afford to provide the requisite standards of a modern administration to form "political entities" of sufficient size, Your

Excellency has no intention of suggesting any arrangement which may affect the continuance of the ruling dynasties or the integrity or autonomy of the States concerned. We deem it our duty to bring to Your Excellency's notice the serious misgivings which prevail generally amongst the Rulers of so called smaller States, and we invite Your Excellency's particular sympathy and consideration in approaching the problems of these States.

The larger States will, we feel sure, be glad to assist the smaller States to solve their particular problems with success but any arrangements in which they are invited to assist must proceed on the initial basis of mutual consent and should involve no impairment of the status of the Rulers or the integrity of the States concerned.

7. We have listened with particular attention to Your Excellency's remarks in regard to the economic problems which face India at the moment and the steps which are being taken in British India to solve them. The valuable suggestions, specially commended by Your Excellency are already receiving our active consideration, and we can assure Your Excellency that these will be implemented as required by and suited to the conditions of our peoples. We of the Indian States recognise that our economic interests are closely linked with those of British India. We are willing to cooperate with her. We wish to emphasise however that like British India the States look primarily to industrial development to raise the standards of living of their peoples. The urgency of industrial development in the States is further emphasised by the necessity of relieving the pressure on the land and of providing immediate employment for our demobilised soldiers and technicians. With a few exceptions the Indian States are not yet fully developed and in any balanced plan for the industrial development of India as a whole they are, on this score, entitled to special treatment. In fostering their nascent industries the States are actuated by no feeling of rivalry, much less hostility, towards British India. Recent happenings however have made it necessary for the States to claim that there should be no discrimination against them and their people, that no impediments should be placed in the way of the natural development of their resources, and that they should be associated in the formulation and implementation of all-India policies in which their cooperation may be desired. Moreover while the States have taken effective measures to check inflation, they have urged that, in the name of inflation, measures should not be adopted which are likely to impede the natural progress of the States or the reasonable and legitimate flow of capital into their territories. These are matters of vital concern to the States and their peoples, and we welcome in particular Your Excellency's assurance that it is your earnest aim, and will be your constant endeavour that the interests of the States should receive the same attention and sympathy from the Government of India in the process of development as those of the Provinces of British India. We are grateful for this assurance. If this is implemented, as we have no doubt it will be, by the departments concerned, we feel sure that the States will be enabled to render cordial co-operation in the formulation of policy in such matters of all India concern and in implementing them in the best interests of the country and its component units.

8. We recognise with gratitude the efforts made and the steps taken by Your Excellency to improve the procedure of consultation between the Government of India and the States on matters of common economic interests. While we appreciate the improvement that has already been effected in this direction, we share Your Excellency's feeling that further improvement is needed, and are glad to have the indication that the matter is receiving Your Excellency's active consideration. We are happy to know that Your Excellency welcomes the steps taken by us to strengthen the Secretariat of the Chamber. You can rely on the fullest co-operation of the Chancellor, his adviser and the Chamber Secretariat in dealing with problems concerning the States.

9. Your Excellency invited attention in particular to the need for close co-operation between British India and the States in the matter of food-grains

and in the management of India's water supplies. We will be ready to co-ordinate our policy with that of the rest of India in regard to foodgrains, as we have done in the recent past. It will however be appreciated, we hope, that our cooperation in this matter must be without risk to the needs of our own population whose legitimate requirements must first be supplied.

As regards the management of India's water supplies, the States will wholeheartedly cooperate and they hope that the Provinces and the Central Government will do likewise. In order to encourage such cooperation it is necessary to ensure adequate representation of all units concerned in the formulation and implementation of agreed projects. Moreover, should differences arise, suitable and impartial machinery such as an *ad hoc* tribunal should be formed for their speedy settlement.

10. Your Excellency referred in your Address to the importance of gradually approximating the taxation policies and systems in the States with those of British India. We appreciate fully the need of requisite funds for the improvement of standards of administration and for the provision of expanding services in the social sphere such as education, medical relief and public health. We recognise that the development of these beneficent activities must primarily depend on revenue resources and not on borrowings. At the same time, Your Excellency will appreciate that the question of raising taxation levels in the States and of agreeing to approximate our systems and levels of taxation to those obtaining in British India are delicate matters which vitally concern the interests and welfare of our peoples, and which call for most anxious consideration particularly as at present the States have no voice in shaping all-India taxation policies. Moreover, as Your Excellency is aware, these matters are the subject of active negotiation at the moment between our representatives and those of the Government of India. We can assure Your Excellency however that we fully realise the importance of this question and that our approach will be reasonable, fair and patriotic.

11. We are happy to learn from the Chancellor that some of the urgent and important points placed by the Princes Delegation before Your Excellency have been met and that satisfactory progress is being made in the negotiations in respect of the few outstanding items. We are grateful for the valuable assistance given by your Excellency in this matter and for the cooperation of your Political Adviser, Sir Conrad Corfield who has been of real help to us. The States attach great importance to the early and satisfactory settlement of these and other outstanding items for which they rely on Your Excellency.

12. Your Excellency has pointed out that we will shortly be called upon to make decisions upon the wisdom of which will depend our prosperity and that of our peoples for many years to come. We are fully cognisant of the vital problems awaiting settlement and of the importance of decisions which we may be soon called upon to take. We are determined to render every service we can for the advancement of our country and our peoples, and when the time comes, as it will soon, we will not be found wanting.

His Excellency the Crown Representative: Your Highnesses, that brings us to the conclusion of business. I thank you for your welcome and for the consideration you have shown me. It has been a great pleasure to preside over this session of the Chamber. We have difficult and most momentous times ahead and I welcome the resolution of Your Highnesses so sincerely and earnestly expressed to cooperate in the progress and advancement of India to her full stature. I am quite confident of that future greatness of India and that the Rulers and their subjects will play a fitting part in it. I will take careful note of the observations which H. H. the Chancellor has made in reply to my address and I shall look forward to a further period of cooperation with His Highness and with the Secretariat for the benefit of the States and of India. Thank you very much, Your Highnesses.

This session is now adjourned *sine die*.

Resolutions passed by the Chamber of Princes (Narendra Mandal), during the session held on the 17th and 18th January 1946.

Agendum No. 1

Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal to His Excellency Lord Wavell.

Resolved.—“The Chamber of Princes offers a hearty welcome to His Excellency Field-Marshal the Right Honourable Viscount Wavell of Cyrenaica and Winchester on the assumption of the offices of His Majesty’s Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States, and the Governor-General of India, and tenders its sincerest good wishes to His Excellency.”

Agendum No. 2

Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal on the demise of Their late Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior), the Maharaja of Gondal and of the late Nawab of Balasinor, the Raja of Talcher and the Raja of Sarangarh.

Resolved.—“The Chamber of Princes records its heartfelt sorrow at the demise of Their late Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Maharaja of Dewas Junior, the Maharaja of Gondal and of the late Nawab of Balasinor, the Raja of Talcher, and the Raja of Sarangarh; together with its sense of loss thereby sustained by the entire Order of Princes and offers its sincere sympathies and condolences to the bereaved families.”

Agendum No. 3

Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal to Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Cochin, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior), the Maharaja of Gondal, the Raja of Chamba, and to the Nawab of Balasinor, the Raja of Talcher, the Raja of Gangpur and the Raja of Kanker.

Resolved.—“The Chamber of Princes offers its heartiest congratulations to Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Cochin, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Maharaja of Dewas Junior, the Maharaja of Gondal, and to the Nawab of Balasinor and the Raja of Talcher on their accession to the Gaddi, and to His Highness the Raja of Chamba, the Raja of Gangpur and the Raja of Kanker on their investiture with ruling powers and wishes them a long and prosperous life.”

Agendum No. 4

Resolution by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal relating to the work of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir as representative of States on the Imperial War Cabinet, etc.

Resolved.—“The Chamber of Princes records its grateful appreciation of the valuable services rendered by His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, at the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and the Dominion Premiers’ Conference, and tenders its warm congratulations to him.”

Agendum No. 5

Resolution by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal regarding procedure to be adopted for the announcement and ratification of the election of the Pro-Chancellor at a meeting of the Standing Committee.

Resolved.—“The Chamber of Princes recommends that as a special measure the voting papers for the election of the Pro-Chancellor be opened and the result of the election declared for formal ratification at a meeting of the Standing Committee of Princes instead of at the Chamber Session as prescribed in Appendix “A” to the First Regulations of the Constitution of the Chamber.”

Agendum No. 6

Resolution by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal on the Final Victory.

Resolved.—“The Chamber of Princes expresses profound gratification at the attainment of final and decisive victory in the struggle against aggression and for the vindication of the principles of justice and sanctity of covenants. It records grateful admiration of the heroic deeds of the brave units of the Indian Army with their comrades of the Imperial and allied Forces.

The Chamber of Princes requests His Excellency the Crown Representative to convey the sincerest congratulations of the Princes of India on this occasion to His Imperial Majesty and his Government and to the Heads of the other Allied Nations.”

Agendum No. 7

Resolution by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal on the glorious achievements by Indian States Forces during the war.

Resolved.—“The Chamber of Princes takes this opportunity of paying its warm tribute to the gallant Indian States Forces on their glorious achievements in every theatre of the World War.”

Agendum No. 8

Resolution by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal on the Princes' whole-hearted support to the United Nations Organisation.

Resolved.—“The Chamber of Princes resolves to place on record its whole-hearted support of the United Nations Organisation for the establishment of ‘conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of International Law can be maintained’ for the safeguarding of ‘International peace and security’ and for ‘the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples’. The Chamber of Princes trusts that the United Nations Organisation will be enabled to win increasing confidence by the impartial, timely and courageous discharge of its functions in furtherance of the noble purposes and principles embodied in the Charter.”

Agendum No. 9

Resolution by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal on political situation in India.

Resolved.—“The Chamber of Princes desires to reiterate that the Indian States fully share the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature and will make every possible contribution towards the settlement of the Indian Constitutional problem.”

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